

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

VOLUME V, NUMBER 47

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUGUST 3, 1936

## Landon Speech Stirs Widespread Debate

Acceptance Address Hailed by Republicans as Statesmanlike; Attacked by Democrats

### BLASTS NEW DEAL SPENDING

Candidate Adopts Conservative Tone in Urging Return to Common Sense Public Program

During the last two weeks, Governor Landon's speech has been through the mill. His supporters have praised it in glowing terms, describing it as a masterpiece of moderation and good sense. His opponents have branded it a maze of generalities and ambiguities. For the most part, the speech followed the general line of attack which the Republicans have been building up for some months. It struck out at wasteful spending. It called for less governmental interference with business. The national government, Mr. Landon declared, should take steps to curtail its activities, whereas the states and localities should increase their functions.

#### Landon's Labor Views

The real bombshell in Mr. Landon's address was that part of it which dealt with the vastly important problem of labor. In stating his views on the rights of workers to organize, Mr. Landon made it clear that the government, under his leadership, would adopt a different labor policy from that which is being carried out by the Roosevelt administration. Not only are his ideas on the subject contrary to those of President Roosevelt, but they also differ from the views held by most labor leaders. Instead, Mr. Landon seems to think very much along the same lines as do most employers and business leaders.

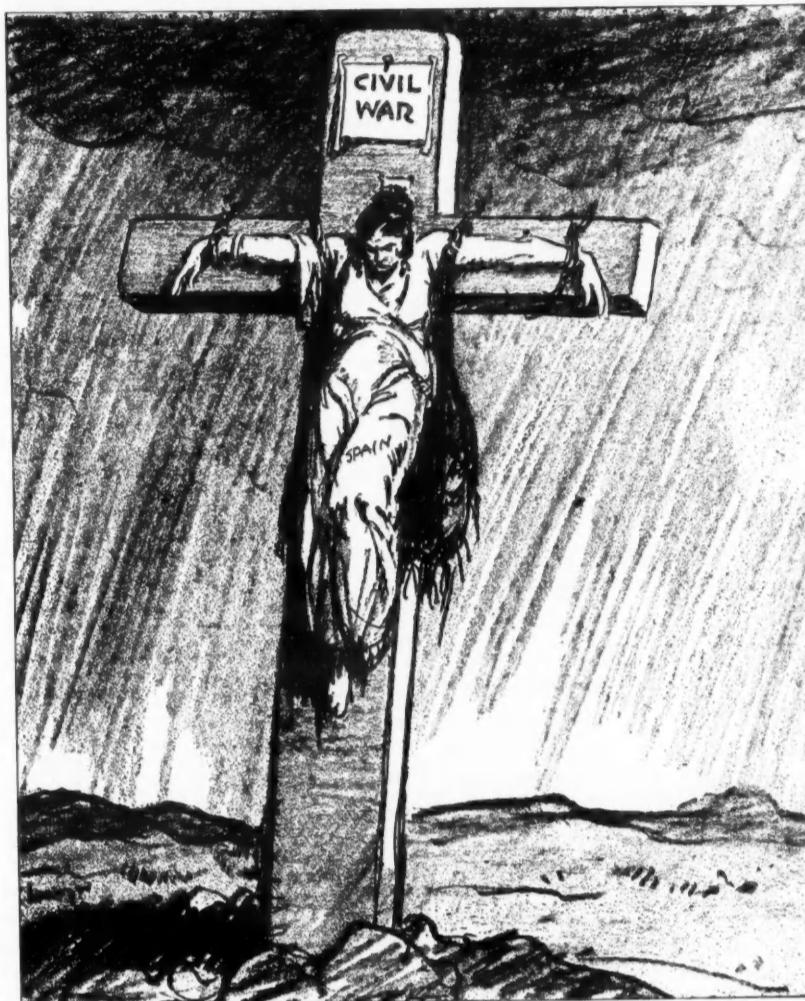
Thus, it seems, a real political issue is developing around the labor question. The Democrats are carrying out one policy, the Republicans are committed to another. The outcome of this dispute may have a vital bearing on the living and working standards of American laborers. Moreover, it may have far-reaching effects on American industry. It is important, therefore, that the arguments pro and con on this question be properly aired during the presidential campaign.

The labor attitude of the Roosevelt administration is well known to all. It has attempted to apply the power of the national government to guard the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. It has lent its support to national labor organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, in their campaigns to unionize more and more American workers. It threw its full weight behind the passage of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which protects the rights of labor to organize free from employer interference. Under the protective arm of the Roosevelt administration, the A. F. of L. has made sweeping gains in its membership.

#### Company Unions

In their organizing campaign, however, labor leaders have run up against stubborn resistance on the part of many employers. They have come into conflict with the company unions, about which we have heard a great deal in the last few years. Employers have done much to foster this

(Concluded on page 8)



CRUCIFIED

—Kirby in Washington News

## Emotion and Opinion

Suppose, as you stroll through the woods, your eye suddenly detects the outline of a snake, coiling in the thick grass at your feet. You are quickly stirred by mingled feelings of repugnance and fear. Is that an opinion? Have you formed an opinion that the snake is a probable enemy to which you should react either by flight or attack? No, your state of mind cannot be described as an opinion. You are experiencing an emotion which is the product of all that you have seen of snakes, all that you have heard and read of them. Let us take another case. A farmer in the dust-blown, drought-stricken region of the West sees the skies darken with heavy clouds and hears the full-throated crash as the thunder proclaims the approaching storm. He feels a keen sense of excited anticipation. Is this an opinion, favorable to the change of prospects? Obviously not. He is experiencing an emotional reaction to a set of conditions which he associates with relief from disastrous drought. We all experience such reactions. Sometimes they are justified by external conditions, and sometimes they are not; but, in one form or another, they make up a large part of our mental lives.

No one would mistake the experiences we have mentioned for opinion. But how about these cases? Someone mentions the term communism, fascism, League of Nations, pacifism, Republican, Democrat, big business, reds, Chamber of Commerce, radical. And when one of these terms is mentioned you react, perhaps with a start. Possibly you at once proclaim your opposition. You are in a fighting mood. You call for suppression. Or it may be that you react favorably to the word. It recalls pleasant associations. You proclaim your support.

Now is all that a matter of opinion, or is it merely an emotional reaction which has somehow been built up as a result of a complex series of experiences? In most cases the anger, the opposition, the resentment which one of these terms calls up has no more to do with opinion than did the frightened start which the stroller gave when he saw the snake. An editorial in one of the first issues of *The New Republic*, away back before the war, declared very truly that most of what passed for opinion was no more opinion than the start one gives when one sees a bear.

Too often the so-called opinions we express are mere states of feeling which owe their existence to no rational processes whatever. Once we feel these prejudices, we try to justify them by reasoning, but the outcome of our reasoning is predetermined by the fact of prejudice. That is why we should question and criticize that which we think of as our opinions to see whether they are based upon the exercise of judgment or whether, on the other hand, they may be the product of preconceived attitudes which could not be defended if they stood in the light of reason.

## Future of Spain Will Depend on Rebellion

Whole Economic System May Be Altered by Outcome of Present Hostilities

### DICTATORSHIP MAY RESULT

Fascism or Communism May Follow Struggle of Liberals and Conservatives

A witty journalist recently poked fun at the much overworked expression that some country or other is at the crossroads. If ever this alarming expression were justified, however, it is in the case of Spain. The outcome of the bloody civil war which that country is waging will be of momentous concern to the Spanish people. It may determine whether they are to continue dealing with their difficult problems through a republican form of government, which they have had since 1931, or whether they will come under the rule of a fascist or communist dictatorship.

#### Issues at Stake

And it is not only the Spanish people who may be affected by the consequences of the present turmoil. The whole of Europe, particularly France, is casting ominous glances in the direction of Spain. The reason is not hard to discover. For if the fascists should win out in that country, their victory might very well encourage like-minded people in other nations to attempt to seize power by force. If, on the other hand, the radical working elements should come out best in the Spanish struggle, and if they should establish a communist dictatorship, dissatisfied workers in certain other countries might be stirred into forceful action.

It is for this reason that developments in Spain are being watched keenly by many nations in Europe. The present Popular Front government in France, for instance, would be somewhat alarmed if the fascist forces should overthrow the left-wing Spanish government by force. Mussolini and Hitler, on the other hand, would be elated if this should happen. In fact, these two dictators probably would like to go to the aid of the Spanish rebels, just as the French government would undoubtedly like to support the loyalists. But serious complications could be expected to arise if foreign governments became involved in the Spanish imbroglio. Thus, they have adopted a "hands-off" policy up to now. Nevertheless, the international consequences of the Spanish civil war will bear close watching.

But it is the internal situation with which we are chiefly concerned at the moment. How did the revolt begin? Who is behind it? What is the outcome likely to be? There can be no doubt that plans for the revolt had been under way ever since the Popular Front government, composed of liberals and radicals of various shades and degrees, won a victory at the polls last February. This victory was most surprising and distasteful to many military leaders, large landholders, and industrialists. These latter groups stood to lose by the program of social and economic reform fostered by the new government. This program called for a breaking up of large estates in order that peasants might obtain small plots of land of their own instead of laboring at starvation wages for their wealthy landlords. It provided for increased govern-

ment control of working conditions in industry. In addition, the new government began to take steps to bring about reforms in the military arm of the government. The Spanish army is notorious for the excessive number of officers it has in relation to its size. Thus, the Popular Front government, before the revolt got under way, started to cut down the officer personnel of the army.

#### Internal Clashes

As a result of these measures which the new government set out to enact, there developed bitterness among industrialists, large landholders, and many military leaders. This bitterness was intensified by the uncontrollable activities of extreme radicals. They burned some churches, although the number has been greatly exaggerated. They caused riots and assassinated fascist leaders. It should not be assumed, however, that they were entirely to blame for the disorders which led up to the revolution. It has been definitely ascertained by impartial observers that much of the agitation was started by troublemakers in the pay of government opponents. Their motive, of course, was to discredit the Popular Front movement.



"OUT TO KILL!"  
—From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

It cannot be denied, though, that some of the extreme radicals simply ran wild. They did considerable damage and took a few lives. Their activities embittered the upper classes and turned many poorer people, peasants and workers, against the Popular Front government. In addition to these unlawful activities, thousands of workers throughout the nation went out on strike. They refused to wait for their newly elected government to act in their behalf, but instead resorted to direct action, just as workers did in France when the Popular Front groups came into power there. This infuriated employers to such an extent that they were willing to join any kind of a forceful movement to put down strikes and labor troubles.

#### Workers Loyal

These, then, were some of the outstanding events leading up to the revolt. When the trouble broke out, it seemed as though the rebels might win quick, decisive victory, for they had a majority of officers in the army on their side. Several developments occurred, however, to strengthen the cause of the government. For one thing, the navy remained loyal. Since many of the rebel leaders and soldiers were stationed in Spanish colonies, they were unable to get to the mainland without the aid of the navy. Another important source of strength for the government came from the workers and many peasants who were supplied with guns and ammunition. They fought right along with the loyalist troops. They were willing to sacrifice their lives to prevent the

establishment of a military dictatorship, which they felt would make their plight even more miserable.

It was a combination of these forces that bolstered the hopes of the loyalists. As we go to press, they seem to have an edge over their opponents. The rebels still display considerable strength, however, and it is by no means certain that their cause has been lost.

#### Difficulties Ahead

Regardless of the outcome of the dispute, Spain seems destined to pass through a period of turmoil and unrest. Probably no people in Europe are compelled to live in worse poverty than the Spaniards. Except for a small portion of the population, the people live much like our sharecroppers, and many of them are even worse off. There is more beggary in Spain than in any other European country. It is pitiful to witness hungry children crying out for bread on the streets.

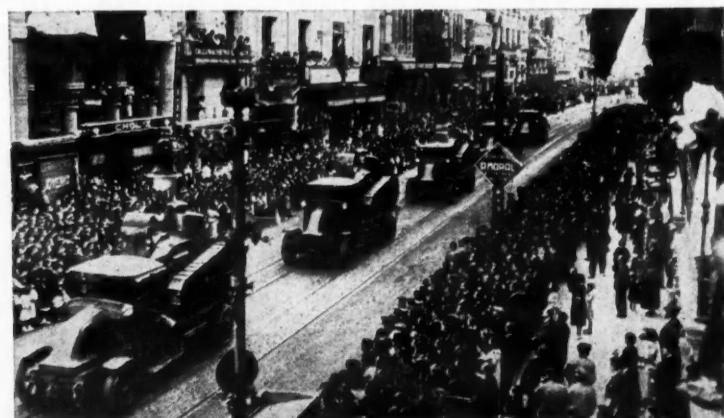
That fairly drastic reforms are needed in Spain, most observers will agree. The mass of people, it is generally agreed, are too much under the thumb of large landholders and small privileged classes. Medieval and feudal practices are still too extensive in that country. What steps are to be taken to improve conditions is a different matter—a matter upon which there is wide disagreement among the Spanish people.

In the last election, which took place in February, the people turned away from a conservative government and entrusted their political affairs with a combination liberal-radical government, just as they had done in 1931. The newly elected Popular Front government was composed of Left Republicans, Socialists, Communists, and Syndicalists. While these parties were in disagreement on many vital points, they all had one thing in common—their hatred for fascism. So they united to combat their pet hate. But when they came into power they immediately began splitting into

opposing factions. The Communists and Syndicalists refused to take any part in the new government. One branch of the Socialist party went communistic, while the other branch was willing to participate in the newly formed government. This left the chief responsibility for Spain's political affairs in the hands of the Left Republicans, headed by Manuel Azaña, and the Liberal Republicans. These two groups, both of which are extremely liberal but not radical, undertook to put through the social and economic reforms promised by the Popular Front parties. Owing to the nationwide strikes and widespread disorder, however, the new government was not getting very far with its program. In recent weeks, of course, it has done nothing.

#### Right or Left?

What will happen when the present reign of violence subsides, no one can safely predict. It does seem a certainty, though, that if the rebels win, the country will be governed by an iron-clad military dictatorship and Spain will go the way of Germany



SPANISH ARMY MANEUVERS IN THE STREETS OF SARAGOSSA © Acme



© Wide World  
SAN SEBASTIAN—WHERE 2,000 MINERS TOOK UP ARMS TO DEFEND THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE REBELS WHO HAD CAPTURED THE CITY

and Italy. General Franco, leader of the rebellion, undertook the revolt in the hope of setting up a military rule, of dissolving workers' unions, and of annihilating all Communist elements.

But it is not at all certain what will happen if the loyalists win. Most observers feel that a victory for the government will certainly lead to a radical dictatorship. The workers, it is believed, will seize power, set up a dictatorship and drive out fascist elements, on the Russian style. Very few students of foreign affairs think that democratic government will function again in Spain in the near future. They believe that the bitterness and hatred produced by the present conflict will lead to a dictatorship, either of the workers or the upper classes.

#### Clash of Interest

Thus, Spain is actually at the crossroads. Many Spanish leaders are making a sincere effort to start that extremely backward country on the road to progress. They had hoped to do this by peaceful, democratic processes. But extremists, both to the right and the left, made this impossible. The vengeance and barbaric tactics displayed by the conflicting groups show what will happen when needed reforms are too long delayed and when the patience of hungry people can be tried no further. The present struggle in Spain is a class war. It is a conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots." The "have-nots" have sunk to such a low level of poverty that they are willing listeners to those who preach the gospel of violence. The "haves" are so afraid that they may be deprived of some of their special privileges that they too are willing to resort to iron-and-blood methods. This, in short, is the cause of the civil war which has Spain so hideously in its grip and which threatens further instability in Europe. Commenting upon the possible foreign repercussions of the Spanish revolution, the *Washington Post* says:

"It is not merely Spain which is threatened by social disintegration as inconclusive civil war brings that country to the close of its second week of nationwide chaos.

The wider implications of the fighting are beginning to become apparent, and they are not pleasant to contemplate. . . .

"The Spanish revolution, in other words, is daily sharpening the new cleavage which the post-war period has added to all the old heritage of European racial and political hostilities. This new element of burning social antagonisms, of class war, may easily become more inhuman and more terrible in its effects than any of the historic national rivalries. Not since the religious hatreds of the Thirty Years

War methodically devastated much of northern Europe has such an appalling prospect been spread before the highly developed civilization of that continent.

"Every excess in the Spanish fighting; every indication that whichever side wins will be ruthless to its opponents, is a warning of the extreme caution necessary to insure that the flames now raging will be confined behind the Pyrenees. Intervention of any kind could only encourage spread of the conflagration. The greatest service of the many which France has done for civilization would be to isolate, and slowly help to tranquilize, the volcanic forces which the Spanish revolution has let loose.

"For those forces have in them seeds of destruction which could easily spread ruin throughout all Europe."

#### SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Would you say that Governor Landon's acceptance speech was, in the main, conservative or liberal? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Why has organized labor criticized so severely the governor's stand on the question of labor? Do you agree with this criticism?
3. In what important respects did Mr. Landon endorse policies of the New Deal?
4. Why does it seem likely that the outcome of the present rebellion in Spain may be the establishment of either a communist or a fascist régime?
5. To what extent may the present difficulties be attributed to the radicals? to the Popular Front government?
6. What is the basic conflict of economic interest in Spain and how may the situation be altered by the outcome of the rebellion?
7. Account for the fact that the American people turned so violently against the policies of Wilson, both domestic and foreign, in the election of 1920.
8. Why has England adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward Italy during the last few weeks?
9. What effect do you think the meeting of "Constitutional Democrats" at Detroit will have upon Governor Landon's chances?
10. What are the main objectives of the New Life movement of China and what are some of its accomplishments up to date?

#### The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and the last two weeks in August) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD  
CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON  
FRED J. KELLY DAVID S. MUZZET  
WALTER E. MYER, *Editor*

PAUL D. MILLER, *Associate Editor*

# AROUND THE WORLD

**England:** Making the first concrete move to deal with the problems thrown in their lap by Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland on March 7, the foreign ministers of Britain, France, and Belgium met in London a few days ago and there laid the groundwork for their future course of action. The conference was the briefest in recent history, with but four hours spent to conciliate differences of opinion. After noting that their objective was the consolidation of peace, the statesmen decided that a further conference be called in September to which both Italy and Germany will be invited. At this meeting, it is understood, Germany will be forgiven her breach of the Locarno pact and a new treaty will be drawn. Finally, if this second conference proves successful, still another conference will be assembled, whose scope will include the whole European situation. Hitler will be asked to sign nonaggression pacts with



© W. W.  
ADOLF HITLER



© Acme  
ANTHONY EDEN

Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland and to promise not to interfere in the internal affairs of the latter two countries.

One could reasonably draw the conclusion that the London meeting was hardly more than one of those seemingly innumerable conversations at which nothing is actually decided. But competent observers attach to it an importance not earned by similar recent gatherings. They maintain that European affairs will now be forced to a showdown and they do not view the prospect with any false optimism. Doubtless Germany will be delighted to sign a new Locarno agreement by which she will not yield anything and will, on the other hand, gain the support of England and France. But it is extremely doubtful, if not altogether impossible, that she will be willing to come to terms with Russia on a non-aggression pact. It may be, according to the same interpretation, that the German dictator is now playing a subtle game. By agreeing to a new Locarno pact, he will no longer be troubled by difficulties in western Europe and will thus be free to turn his attention to the East, where his eyes have long rested. The new treaty will thus defeat itself in that it will strengthen Hitler's hands.

These fears, it is claimed, are well founded. There is no reason for assuming that Hitler's dislike of Russia has been at all modified, nor that his ambition to consolidate all German-speaking peoples under the Nazi flag has been given up. On the contrary, according to advices from Berlin, the German leader has every intention of pushing his program forward.

Under these circumstances, the reasoning continues, the forthcoming conferences can only bring about what has long been threatened. Europe will divide itself into two blocs, one comprising Germany, Austria, and Italy, the other including France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania. This is very similar to the lineup that existed in the months prior to the outbreak of the World War.

The British foreign office has been watching closely this trend of events. The one thing which Minister Anthony Eden and his associates want to avoid is this division of Europe into blocs. And that is why in recent weeks Britain has gone out of the

way to conciliate Mussolini. First, it will be recalled, was the British initiative in calling for the repeal of sanctions against Italy. Then came the withdrawal of the Mediterranean fleet which had been sent to those waters at the outbreak of Italian hostilities with Ethiopia. Now, it has been announced, England will terminate the mutual assistance pacts which she made with several Balkan countries in order to intimidate Mussolini.

\* \* \*

**Mexico:** The speed with which the recent strike of electrical workers in Mexico was brought to a settlement is being hailed generally as an indication that the Mexican people are making serious efforts to work out their problems in a normal, peaceful manner. It is claimed that this trend toward moderation is in no small measure due to President Lazaro Cardenas. He has shown an intense interest in the development of his country and it is an interest which the people regard as sincere. Unlike his predecessors, he is not content with sitting in the capital and there dictating orders. A great deal of his time is spent in going among the villages and inquiring personally into the conditions of the peasants.

It is this first-hand study of conditions which has guided Cardenas in formulating his economic program. In a recent interview, the first he has given since the expulsion of General Plutarco Calles, he envisaged the possibilities that lie before the Mexican people. The country, he noted, was rich in oil and in minerals, yet the living conditions of the workers were far worse than in other lands. The source of the difficulty, he continued, lay in the fact that industry and agriculture are both controlled by a rich and indifferent minority. It is impossible to force an increase in industrial wages since this would endanger the economic structure. He intends, therefore, to set up a co-operative movement in agriculture. Farms will be granted loans with which to buy machinery, and this will increase the need for industrial expansion.

President Cardenas emphasized the progress that has already been made under his administration. In many of the villages, there may be seen rising new modern schoolhouses, presenting a significant contrast to the crumbling forts and towers. Along the new highway that crosses from north to south, automobiles move along carrying books to out-of-the-way settlements, while others are taking nurses from village to village where the people are being taught the values of sanitation and health.

**China:** The difficulties with which General Chiang Kai-shek has had to cope in the southern provinces have tended to obscure some of the reforms which he has instituted during the last two years in that territory in which his authority has not been disputed. The most colorful of these reforms has to do with what is called the New Life movement, in which General Chiang's wife, a Wellesley College graduate, has taken an active part.

While the movement has not yet penetrated into the interior of China, it has made an unmistakable impression in the larger cities. Its aims have a European tinge. It seeks to promote efficiency, pride in one's work, self-respect and improved sanitation. People are urged to discard their traditional robes and to wear European clothes. It is claimed that these are more suitable for the demands of modern living. Each resident of a city takes upon himself the responsibility of seeing that streets are kept clean and uncluttered. Public carriers make a particular effort to impress their passengers with the need of maintaining decorum. The effect of this movement has even become noticeable among the rickshaw coolies. Although most of them do not yet know how to read, they too have sensed the spirit of the movement and one may find them continually scrubbing their conveyances to keep them neat and polished.

\* \* \*

**Venezuela:** Since the death, last December, of Dictator Vincente Gomez, new political and social movements have taken root in Venezuela. Not the least important of these is the attempt to gain for women equal economic and political status with men. Since the founding of this southern republic, women have been deprived of the right to vote and to possess property. When a young woman marries she must yield all of her wealth to her husband, for disposal at his pleasure.

This subjection has worked hardship especially among the women of the poorer classes, in that it offered them no opportunity at all to protest against exploitation. A typical scene in the villages of this country is that of a peon riding home from the fields on his burro, while behind him his wife trudges wearily on foot, with perhaps a heavy load weighing down her back.



© Wide World

MEXICAN WORKERS ON STRIKE

There is distinct hope that this movement to improve the position of women will be successful. Recently, it enlisted the support of a large men's organization of liberal tendencies. In the extension of opportunity to all classes is seen the possibility of developing their country into a modern, healthy state. Venezuela is not an impoverished land. It is one of the major sources of oil supply in the world and if these resources, together with others, are intelligently used, there is no need for the backwardness which now exists there.

\* \* \*

**Russia:** Though the daily headlines carry considerable news of Russia and its industrial development they do not always give satisfactory answers to questions that arise. It is true that most goods such as textiles, steel products, and machinery are made in government-owned factories, but there are many products that do not lend themselves to mass production. Then, too, there are certain services, such as having one's hair cut or having one's clothes repaired, which obviously are better left in the hands of individuals. And there are villages that are so remote from large industrial centers that most of their needs are supplied locally. How is this individual enterprise conducted? Do the profits go to the state or do they remain in the hands of the individual, as they do in capitalist countries?

There is no objection to personal enterprise in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, there are thousands of persons who conduct their own businesses and are yet in the graces of the authorities. The only rule laid down is that no individual may employ another and make profit out of the latter's toil.

Thus, an automobile mechanic may open his own garage and invite trade. Actually, the number of persons doing this type of work is increasing every year with the increase in the purchase of automobiles. There is no restriction upon the extent of his business. A group of mechanics may get together and open a garage of their own, with but the single condition that all should share equally in the profits.

In various Russian villages, this principle is applied even more extensively. There most of the peasants have some trade of their own which they are free to pursue. They make furniture, clothes, and other necessary goods which they sell to their neighbors.



—From USSR in Construction

VILLAGE LIFE IN THE NEW RUSSIA



—Photo by Block. Courtesy U. S. Forest Service

AS THE GOVERNMENT MOVES FORWARD WITH ITS SOIL CONSERVATION AND REFORESTATION PROGRAM

## The Campaign

Following his acceptance of the Republican nomination, Governor Landon has found time to hold conferences with a view to opening his speech-making tour late in August. His first series of conferences dealt with finance and banking. On this problem he conferred with Benjamin M. Anderson, economist of the Chase National Bank of New York; with Leonard P. Ayres, statistician and vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company; also with Lewis L. Strauss, partner in Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, New York bankers. With a view to determining his strength in the Northwest, Governor Landon found time to confer with Leslie Jensen, Republican candidate for governor in South Dakota.

While these meetings were held at Topeka, President Roosevelt arrived at Campobello, his summer home, after a 14-day cruise with his sons, James, John, and Franklin, Jr., through Maine and New Brunswick waters, in the course of which he sailed his small schooner nearly 400 miles. After a three-day visit at Campobello, where he was met by his wife and his mother, the President went to Quebec, where he was the guest of the Canadian Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir. It was expected that the visit with the Canadian official would have some political significance—that the principal subject of conversation between the President and the governor general would be the question of the continuation of the

Coughlin, in an open letter, now offers the President his "sincere apology." The radio priest explained that his speech at Cleveland was extemporaneous, and if he had written it in advance he would not have used such strong language.

Bishop Micheal Gallagher of Detroit, under whose supervision Father Coughlin acts as a parish priest, has gone to Rome, where he will have an audience with the pope. It is not known whether the bishop's visit will deal with the utterances of the radio priest. Bishop Gallagher, before leaving the United States, stated that he did not approve of the way Father Coughlin expressed himself, although he insisted that the priest is entitled to his opinions. The bishop further announced that he would support the priest's radio activities on the grounds that he "speaks for the people" and does "worth while work."

In the meantime Father Coughlin has continued his political speeches. Before a recent homecoming celebration in North Dakota in honor of Representative William Lemke, he claimed that repudiation of farm debts would be necessary unless relief is provided. He maintained that farm debts and the drought were the two major blights of the Northwest.

## "Constitutional Democrats"

The "Constitutional Democrats" have received a call from Sterling E. Edmunds to meet in Detroit on August 7. Mr. Edmunds, a St. Louis attorney and a friend of ex-Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, has been active during the past few years in opposing ratification of the pending child labor amendment. The invitations were addressed to "Constitutional Democrats" who are opposed to the present alien control of our party's name and machinery."

The meeting, according to Mr. Edmunds, is to be in the nature of an informal conference. Former Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts, a Roosevelt bolter, announced he would attend the meeting. A similar statement came from Bainbridge Colby. While uncertainty exists as to whether former Governor Alfred E. Smith will be in attendance, it is expected that ex-Senator Reed will be at the sessions. All these men signed the open letter calling upon the Democratic convention in Philadelphia to nominate someone for the presidency other than Franklin D. Roosevelt.



NO POLITICS IN THIS—ONLY HEARTBREAK

—Kirby in N. Y. World-Telegram

reciprocal trade agreements between the United States and Canada. After the stop in Quebec the President will go to Hyde Park, stopping en route to visit areas of New England which have suffered from spring floods.

## Coughlin Apologizes

In his recent speech before the Townsend convention in Cleveland, Father Charles E. Coughlin of the National Union for Social Justice, referred to President Roosevelt as a "great betrayer and liar." For this, Father

the order does not affect postmasters now in service. Neither does it modify the preference given to applicants with a military record. The ruling specifies that, whenever a vacancy occurs, a competitive examination shall be held and the post shall be filled by the applicant

who has the highest ranking in the examination. The order also allows postal employees to be promoted to postmasterships.

This action of the chief executive makes effective a policy which was incorporated in a bill before the last session of Congress and which was endorsed by the President. The bill, proposing to place postmasters of the first three classes under the civil service, failed of enactment. Thus by executive order the President has done something that Congress failed to do.

## Drought Relief

Despite the beneficial rains which have fallen in many sections of the farm belt, the drought continues in some areas to blast the hopes for a crop yield this year. The Department of Agriculture has designated 550 counties—about one-sixth of the total—located in 16 states, as falling within the drought area.

Reports from the corn belt indicate that the crop yield will be 70 to 85 per cent of normal. The yield of winter wheat is reported as



© U. & U.

FRANK C. WALKER

satisfactory, while spring wheat and oats are almost total failures. Pastures in the dairy regions are short and dry, and there is some threat of a milk shortage. In order to relieve this situation in Wisconsin, the Resettlement Administration has advanced \$500,000 to that state, even though Wisconsin is not in the primary drought area.

Harry L. Hopkins, WPA administrator, and Rexford G. Tugwell, Resettlement administrator, have been working in the drought belt in conference with farm leaders and government officials to devise means of relieving the situation. The Resettlement Administration is expected to spend from \$125,000,000 to \$160,000,000 in its efforts to relieve the conditions in the dust bowl.

Recognizing that droughts are likely to recur, President Roosevelt recently appointed a permanent committee, known as the Great Plains Drought Area Committee, to study the problem and to coordinate government services with a view to determining a long-range policy. He has named Morris L. Cooke of the Rural Electrification Administration chairman of this committee.

## The Cost of Education

What does it cost to educate a pupil in the public schools for one year? According to a study made by the Office of Education of the Department of Interior the average cost per pupil in 312 city school systems in the United States for the school year ending in June 1935 was \$96.18. In the Class I cities, those having populations of more than 100,000, three

cities in New York led with the highest expenditures per pupil. These were Albany with \$142.05; New York with \$136.64; Rochester with \$133.31. On the other hand the lowest per capita cost for Class I cities was found in Tampa with \$40.39.

The report also shows that the per capita cost per pupil for 1935 ranged from \$101.17 in Class I cities to \$69.25 in Class IV cities (population 2,500 to 9,999). While expenditures were somewhat higher in Class I cities in 1935 over 1934 (\$101.17 as against \$98.19), the expenditures for 1935 were nevertheless considerably lower than they were in 1930 when they reached \$112.89 per pupil.

The report further revealed that in all classes of cities instruction cost approximately 75 per cent of the total expenditures. The remaining one-fourth covered the operation and maintenance of school buildings, together with the cost of meeting other fixed charges.

## Rural Electrification

The Rural Electrification Administration, under the chairmanship of Morris L. Cooke, is pushing its work forward. The Administration, under authorization from Congress at its last session, is making loans to organizations of farmers for the construction of electric lines. These organizations are co-operative and usually are started through the county units of the Farm Bureau or through the efforts of co-operative societies of farmers.

The REA has advanced loans to farmer organizations over a wide range of territory. Credit has been extended to distribution units from Georgia to Washington and from Connecticut to Oklahoma. As a rule, these loans are to be paid off over a period of 25 years. Construction of rural electric lines costs approximately \$1,000 a mile. The cost of construction for each farmer in most places is approximately \$200. One large project in Ohio, covering 440 miles of transmission lines, is being built for \$407,000, to serve 1,925 farmers.

## New Court Urged

A special committee of the American Bar Association recommends that an administrative court be created by the federal government to assume judicial functions now exercised by no fewer than 73 administrative agencies. The committee, as the result of a three-year study made public recently, believes that the interpretation of authority granted to government agencies should not be left in the hands of the agency but should be assigned to a newly created court. This court, the committee believes, should consist of lawyers appointed by the President, with the appointment confirmed by the Senate. Their work



AFTER TWENTY YEARS—TOM MOONEY IS SET FREE  
FRANCISCO PRESENTS

# The United States

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

According to this committee, should be subject to review by the higher courts of the federal system. This report implies a criticism of Congress, especially in its work of the last few years, in giving its authority to administrative bodies. The committee is of the opinion that Congress should remain the sole agency for interpreting its acts. In the event that Congress chooses to transfer its authority, the newly created court, recommended in the report, would assume the principal responsibility for judicial review.

### Mooney and the Courts

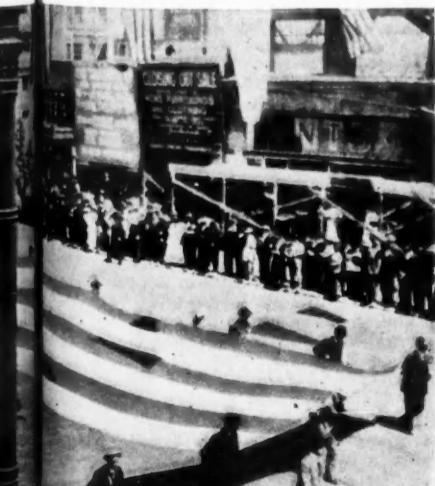
Twenty years have passed since Warren K. Billings and Tom Mooney were arrested for the bombing of the San Francisco Preparedness Parade, as the result of which 10 persons were killed and 40 injured. Mooney, a member of the moulder's union, was a left-wing labor leader before his arrest, who had advocated the industrial organization of workingmen. At the time of his arrest he was attempting to organize the employees of the San Francisco street car company.

Through two decades Mooney's case has been pending in the courts. Convicted on what is now known to have been perjured testimony, he would have been hanged had not President Wilson intervened with the governor of California to have his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Mooney was once offered a parole, but nothing short of a pardon or a new trial will satisfy him and his friends who are fighting for him.

Persons prominently identified with the case have urged that he be granted a new trial. Pleas have been taken to the Supreme Court of California to have the conviction set aside or to secure a new trial. The court held that the case was not brought to them through proper channels. However, it did not pass on the merits of the issue. Governors of California have been approached for a pardon but no executive has been willing to free Mooney. The friends of Mooney are now making one final effort to carry his case into the courts with a view to having the United States Supreme Court pass judgment on it.

### An Electric Farm

The Third World Power Conference will convene in Washington early in September. Delegates will be present from all the states and from 48 foreign countries. By way of preparation for the conference, government officials at Washington have wanted to demonstrate the usefulness of electricity on the farm. Accordingly, the Rural Electrification Administration selected a farm near Herndon, Virginia, about 20 miles from Washington, as a demonstration center for farm electrification.



© Acme

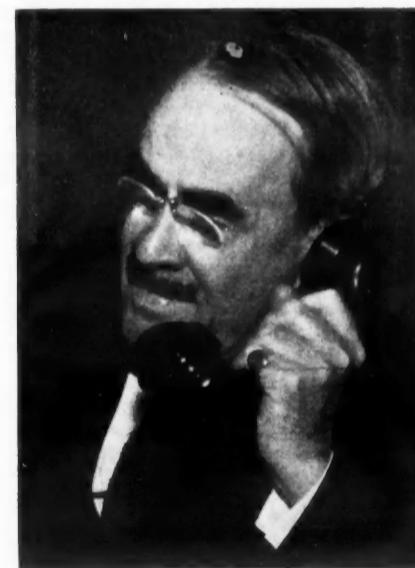
IS IN PRISON, CHARGED WITH BOMBING THE SAN FRANCISCO PARADE IN 1916

The farm is owned and operated by J. M. Hughes. It is not a "model" farm, but one on which a farm family has been making a living for many years.

With the co-operation of manufacturers of plumbing as well as electrical equipment, the Hughes farm was completely fitted with electrical appliances. The kitchen and laundry have been equipped with electric range, refrigerator, dishwasher, percolator, washing machine, ironer, and many smaller appliances. The dairy and milk house have been electrically fitted. An electric pump makes water available in all the buildings and in the truck garden as well. It is expected that the demonstration will reveal the usefulness and the practicability of the widespread use of electricity on the farm.

### The Upward Swing

All evidence indicates a continued improvement in business. A recent report of the American Federation of Labor shows that by March of this year 6,000,000 of the 16,000,000



© H. & E.

MORRIS L. COOKE

unemployed of March 1933 had been re-employed. With the expansion of the electric industry, the reconditioning of railroads, and the development of a building program, American business is certain to show further improvements during this year, business experts think.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, in a recent report, declares that unless some unforeseen developments arise, 1936 will be the best business year since 1929. Distinct employment increases have been shown by the railroads, the electric industry, the retail trade, and by a number of factories. According to the Chamber's statement, the value of exports for the first six months of this year was 72 per cent higher than for the first half of 1933; the country is now using more electric energy by at least 15 per cent than in 1929.

Furthermore, there has been a decided increase in the volume of goods produced. According to a report from the American Iron and Steel Institute, steel production is approximately 70 per cent of plant capacity, compared to 44 per cent a year ago. The General Motors Corporation, for its quarter ending June 30, reports the best April-to-June business in seven years.

### Governors Hit Landon

In a radio address to the American people a few days ago, the governors of six states—Pennsylvania, Illinois, Rhode Island, Iowa, Nebraska, and Oregon—criticized the Landon acceptance speech as vague, contradictory, and full of generalities.



© Harris and Ewing  
THE OLD AND THE NEW—A COMPLETELY ELECTRIFIED FARM ON EXHIBIT AT DRANESVILLE, VIRGINIA

The Landon economy policies were criticized by Governor Cochran of Nebraska when he declared that school appropriations in Kansas had been cut as much as 40 per cent and that school teachers had worked for as little as \$25 a month. Governor Herring of Iowa insisted that the Republican nominee was promising the farmers relief which the Roosevelt administration had provided. Reminding his auditors of 1932 farm prices, the Iowa governor insisted that farmers had nothing to gain by turning the Democrats out of power and electing a Republican president.

Governor Earle of Pennsylvania lashed out at the rigid economy which had been exercised in Kansas in the administration of relief. He defended the efforts of the Roosevelt administration to control industry through the use of codes. However, because of long hours, low wages, and the increasing use of machines, the Pennsylvania governor declared that unemployment continues. Governor Horner of Illinois charged the Republicans with insincerity when they state that Roosevelt and his fellow Democrats do not act within the limits of the Constitution. Governor Martin of Oregon took the position that Landon was being supported by Wall Street and many other conservative elements and thus could not be very liberal.

### In Brief—

The suicide rate in the United States for 1935, according to reports from nearly 100 cities, is lower than at any time since 1925. The rate for 1935 is 15.7 per 100,000 population compared with 21.3 for 1932, when the rate reached the highest level ever recorded.

Influenza can be brought under control. That is the conclusion reached by W. F. Wells and H. W. Brown as the result of five years of experimentation at the Harvard School of Medicine. The experiments of these men show that the disease can develop from germs which have been suspended in the air of a room for as long as 30 minutes. The germs can be killed by exposing them to ultra-violet rays. The treatment, they claim, can be applied in public buildings, schools, hospitals, theaters, and other places where people assemble.

The Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, Inc., according to a report issued by Rowland C. Sheldon, executive secretary, gave assistance and guidance last year to 55,000 boys and girls. This organization is a nonprofit enterprise which gives counsel, largely through volunteer workers, to boys and girls who are delinquent or who show evidence of delinquent tendencies.

Under the soil conservation act, the AAA will begin the distribution of agricultural benefits soon after October 1. This will be the first payment made to farmers from the United States treasury since the Supreme Court invalidated the payment of crop curtailment allotments last January. The payments, approximating \$500,000,000 this year,

will be made to farmers for engaging in programs to prevent soil erosion and to promote soil fertility.

### Names in the News

Frank C. Walker, a close friend of President Roosevelt and head of the National Recovery Council, has consented to serve as chairman of the finance committee for the Democratic presidential campaign. Four years ago Mr. Walker served as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., upon his return to this country from a brief trip to Europe, expressed the opinion that private fortunes would be dissipated within 30 years if government spending is not curtailed. Mr. Rockefeller, once an ardent prohibitionist, also stated that bootlegging of liquor is encouraged by the excessive taxes imposed on alcoholic beverages by state and federal governments.

Aubrey Williams, Acting WPA administrator, has ordered the dismissal of seven WPA administrative officers in Oklahoma because of their activities in the recent Democratic primary in that state.

William Hale Thompson, twice mayor of Chicago, is expected to become a candidate for governor of Illinois on the Lemke-O'Brien ticket. His running mate for United States senator, it is expected, will be Newton Jenkins, long active in third-party movements in Illinois.



THREE BLIND MICE

—Doyle in N. Y. Post

Thomas L. Blanton, member of Congress from the 17th Texas District and active in the control of affairs in the District of Columbia, is facing defeat for renomination. In the preliminary primary, held a few days ago, Clyde L. Garrett was leading Blanton by a substantial margin. Since Garrett did not have a majority of all votes cast, it will be necessary, according to Texas law, to submit the contest to a run-off primary. This will be held on August 22.

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Conservative Swing of 1920

THE election of 1920 is important because it shows one of the most remarkable reversals in public psychology in American history. In 1912, as we pointed out last week, nearly two-thirds of the voters endorsed the two liberal candidates, Roosevelt and Wilson. Eight years later, the country went overwhelmingly conservative, electing Warren G. Harding by a majority of 7,000,000. Thus a period of conservative Republican rule was launched, not to be broken for 12 years, when the people, in the throes of the worst depression in their history, once more turned to liberal leadership. Before we come to the actual election of 1920, which President Wilson's secretary referred to not as a landslide but as an earthquake, we must examine some of the causes of this unusual about-face of public opinion.

DAVID S. MUZZEY



#### Tired of Idealism

Whether President Wilson had in mind more reforms than those which were actually put into effect before America turned her attention to foreign affairs as a result of the World War is a matter about which there is considerable dispute. The fact of the matter is that the government and the people did have to turn their attention to foreign affairs, and the program of domestic social and economic reform was forgotten. During our participation in the war, all the nation's energies were concentrated on making possible a victory for the Allies. The President was granted extraordinary powers. Politics was temporarily forgotten. The people gave up certain of their individual liberties. Business was strongly regimented. The national life was directed, as never before in our history, from Washington. Production, transportation, prices, wages, food, fuel; in fact, practically every activity of the American people was under rigid government control.

It was only natural, under these circumstances, that when the whole sorry mess of war was over the people should yearn for the good old days, whatever they might have been. The inevitable reaction set in. As soon as the armistice was signed, the political truce was broken and Republican opposition to the Democratic President broke loose in all its fury. A group of "irreconcilables" in the Senate pledged itself to prevent ratification of the Versailles

Treaty which would have made the United States a member of the League of Nations. These senators were determined that America should maintain its isolation and keep away from further entanglements with Europe. Among the people themselves there was a reaction against the Wilsonian idealism as the bickerings at the Paris peace conference disclosed that reforming the world was not such an easy matter. It thus appeared that the Wilson administration was about to suffer a serious defeat where it had staked so much.

But the disillusionment and reaction were not confined to foreign affairs. The reversal of sentiment was equally pronounced on the domestic front. Business organizations which had been fattening themselves on the swollen profits of the war trade were determined not to lose their advantage. Labor, whose wages had risen to the highest level known to workers because of the shortage produced by the withdrawal of men for the war and the abnormal industrial activity, was determined to retain its advantages. But the consuming public protested violently against the high price of living which was caused in part by profiteering and in part by the high cost of labor.

It was only natural that the country, in attempting to shift from a wartime to a peacetime economy, should experience many hardships. The national unity which had resulted from the war rapidly disintegrated. Thus there was a veritable deluge of strikes in 1919 as workers struggled valiantly to keep their high wages and businessmen their heavy profits. President Wilson tried to stem the tide by calling representatives of capital, labor, and the general public to Washington to "consult together on the vital questions concerning our industrial life." But the results of the conference were nil and the country embarked upon its period of turmoil.

#### Liberal Opposition

Not only did the Wilson administration incur the wrath of the business community which could never stomach his New Freedom, but it alienated a large section of liberals because of its refusal to restore the civil liberties which had been suspended during the war. There was a veritable wave of hysteria over the so-called "Red menace," and radicals of all types were thrown into jail or deported in mass. Many of the war measures curbing freedom of speech and press and assembly were retained long after the war was over, much to the disgust of liberals.

Coupled with the general confusion was the gradual disintegration of the Wilson administration itself. Many of the government agencies which were run by business executives during the war were falling to pieces. An intelligent and systematic liquidation of the war machinery was thus made doubly difficult. The President himself, more determined to put across his League of Nations than anything else, was unable to assert the leadership that was necessary in this period of critical adjustment. Finally, on a speaking tour in behalf of the League, Mr. Wilson was stricken and was rushed back to the capital, an invalid. For months no one knew who was running the executive branch of the government, and all sorts of rumors spread throughout the land.

Thus the Wilson administration was in a sorry state when the two parties met in the summer of 1920 to choose their candidates for the presidency. The people were tired and weary, and much of the Wilson

program had already been repudiated. They seemed to desire, above all else, an end of the turmoil and confusion and a return to more normal conditions. Senator Harding, in a speech delivered at Boston in the spring of 1920, seemed to voice the sentiments of a majority of the people—and incidentally to sound the keynote for his own campaign—when he said: "America's present need is not heroics but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration; not surgery but serenity."

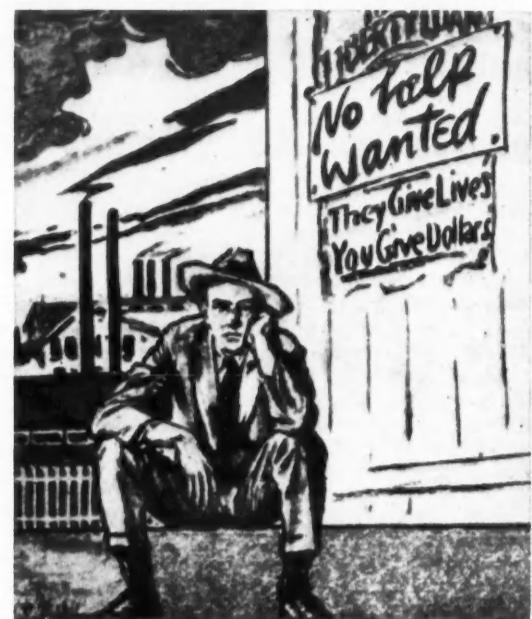
Both parties were deadlocked over the selection of a candidate. The three leading figures in the Republican party were General Leonard Wood, Senator Hiram Johnson and Governor Frank B. Lowden. But none of these aspirants was able to win the necessary majority. Wood was considered too military, Lowden too conservative, and Johnson too radical. The liberals, led by Borah, declared that they would bolt the party if either Lowden or Wood was nominated. So, to break the deadlock the powers of the party met and agreed to stampede for Warren Gamaliel Harding.

The leading contenders for the Democratic nomination were William G. McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law and secretary of the treasury, and A. Mitchell Palmer, whose principal claim to fame was his red-hunting expeditions during the hectic 1919 crusade. After 44 ballots the deadlock was broken by the nomination of Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, with Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York as the vice-presidential candidate.

#### Weak Candidates

It is one of the great tragedies of our history that neither of the parties was able to present the people with an outstanding leader at a time when leadership above all else was demanded. Neither Harding nor Cox had any particular qualifications for the presidency. Governor Cox followed the wishes of President Wilson and waged his campaign on the League of Nations issue. But Senator Harding seemed to offer greater promise to the voters by raising issues which touched them more directly and vitally than the League. His campaign of "normalcy and serenity" was successful and America embarked upon a new era in her history.

It was clear enough that as a result of the election of 1920 the country would swing in the direction of conservatism. Perhaps a social prophet might also have predicted a period of graft and declining political morals, for the war was followed unquestionably by a considerable amount of moral disintegration. People generally, however, not gifted with the powers of prophecy, were surprised by the scandals which disgraced the nation during the Harding administration. The most conspicuous of these was the oil scandal which developed from the disposal by high officials of valuable public oil lands to corrupt industrial interests. This scandal, which reached to the cabinet, was but one of many evidences of corruption in high places. The President apparently was not intentionally a party to the corrupt practices, but was betrayed by unworthy friends. His administration was at the point of being wrecked when his sudden death removed him from office and placed the presidency in the hands of the vice-president, Calvin Coolidge. One of the most unusual phenomena of the era was the lack of concern shown by the people when the scandals of the Harding administration were uncovered. They were merely interested in the continuation of their prosperity, and evil-doing in high places brought only slight resentment. After Mr. Coolidge had come to the presidency, the country got what it had expected of the Harding administration; that is, a period of honest conservatism.



COVER FOR THE AMERICAN LEGION WEEKLY OF OCTOBER 1920 SHOWING RESENTMENT OF VETERANS OVER INABILITY TO GET JOBS

—Illustration from "Our Times" by Mark Sullivan

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

We don't mind Brazil dumping tons of coffee into the sea, but can't understand why our restaurant insists on buying the mixture. —Oklahoma News

It is time for patriots to insist that patriotism is not the last refuge of a scoundrel, nor the monopoly of the ignorant, prejudiced, and fanatic.—Dorothy Thompson

It is said that on one occasion Daniel Webster climbed to the summit of one of Vermont's tallest peaks and there made a speech to the mountain. This is respectfully passed along to the political spellbinders for what it is worth. —Shreveport JOURNAL

It would be hard to say which makes the most noise when on the fence—a tomcat or a candidate. —Washington Post

After 12 years' research, an Iowan has discovered 35,000 relatives. An easier way would have been to win on a sweepstakes ticket. —Muskegon CHRONICLE

Isn't it fortunate that the ailments which can be cured by a change of climate rarely attack those who can't afford to make the change? —Grand Island INDEPENDENT

These are the longest days of the year, but it's just as hard to get a day's work done as ever. —Sioux City ARGUS-LEADER

There is grim irony in speaking of the freedom of contract of those who, because of their economic necessities, give their service for less than is needful to keep body and soul together.

—Justice Stone, dissenting in the Minimum Wage decision

Watermelon is not to be appreciated when served in dainty round slices and eaten at a dinner table under restraint of etiquette. —Washington Post

No matter which of the two honorable men who are presidential candidates this year is elected, the nation will survive. —TODAY

Popular referendums are educational devices of the finest sort; it is through such matching of arguments for and against that people are enabled to come to intelligent decisions. —St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

I am firmly of the opinion, from the experience I have had in five years of relief, that handing out a basket of groceries day by day to people whose need is due entirely to economic factors, is the most wasteful way of spending funds, the most outrageous way of treating the unemployed that I know of.

—Harry L. Hopkins, WPA

The Nazis have decreed a "week of laughter" in Berlin so that visitors to the Olympic games can see how happy everybody in Hitlerland is. —New York WORLD-TELEGRAM

One of the simplest ways to confuse a man, while attempting to enlighten him, is to talk to him in a language he thinks he understands—usually his own.

—Willard L. Wiener in Current History



THE FIRST GOOD LAUGH THEY'VE HAD IN YEARS

—Darling in N. Y. Herald-Tribune

## Among the New Books

### Saga of the North

"Gunnar's Daughter," by Sigrid Undset. Translated from the Norwegian by Arthur G. Chater (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2).

WITH scarcely a superfluous word, in a style as bare of adornment as the Norwegian fjords through which her characters roam, Sigrid Undset achieves a tale that is haunted with poetic mood and drama. Her plot is epic in its simplicity. It is not deeply imbedded motives which she plumbs, nor is it subtle nuances of feeling which engage her men and women. They respond to their lives in elemental fashion, with emotions and tempers that were old when men first began to mumble, and will probably be new on the ever-recurring morrow. Those emotions are the substance of our daily bread, nonetheless so because our bread is currently smothered in jam.

The incidents in this novel might thus have taken place anywhere. Yet it is all to the good that the author placed them in northern lands during the age of the Vikings. For on barren scenes, in a time that is bleak, the etching cuts deeper.

Ljot, a young Icelander visiting Norway with his kinsman, stops at the home of the nobleman Gunnar. Immediately he is taken up with the beauty of Vigdis, his host's daughter, whose hand he asks in marriage. Various circumstances later force him to desert her, and she begins to lead a life that is heavy with its burden of hardships and misery. Ljot, meanwhile,

has returned to Iceland where he marries another woman and rears a family. Soon both his young children meet a tragic death and his wife, too, passes away. Yet even these events do not bear too heavily upon him, for always his mind has carried the memory of Vigdis. And it is to seek her companionship, if but for a fleeting moment, that he now begins to wander from place to place. While he is thus roving he chances to rescue from the sea a young man who later proves to be his son and that of Vigdis. The father had never known that Ulvar existed. The lad becomes fond of his rescuer and invites him to his mother's home. It is only then that Ulvar realizes that the man whom he had brought to his mother's home was the one on whom he had sworn, for her sake, to take vengeance. Toward the solution of this conflict between two duties the author employs no tricks. Ljot himself makes it possible for the son to avenge his mother, though it proves to be a vengeance that becomes bitter with the taking.

### Queen of England

"Victoria of England," by Edith Sitwell. With Illustrations. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50).

SINCE the beginning of the century Queen Victoria has offered a lush field for the harvesting of biographers. Hers was a long and eventful life. If she were in the mood, on that January afternoon, in 1901, when for the last time her carriage rolled through the dusk-softened English woods, if she were not too weary and tired and anxious for the release from all thought, she might have reflected with understandable pride upon the 60 years of her reign. The world had changed vastly since that day when her governess interrupted her childish daydreams to tell her that she must prepare herself to become the queen of England. The world had changed vastly, and England too. Railways were now chugging through the countryside. From across the seas messages were being sent to London by telegraph. Everywhere factories had

sprung up. The industrial era had come of age. It had been a swiftly moving pageant, sad at times, at others full of delight, but always magnificent. And through it all, dominating and shaping it, there moved a woman. It was not mere flattery which gave to the period the name of Queen Victoria.

These facts necessarily form the background of any study of the monarch. And it is needless to note that they are sketched artistically by Miss Sitwell. But one may well ask, in the face of all the literature that has grown up about the period and its chief character, what the author has to say that has not been said before. Miss Sitwell herself supplies the answer to this question. She notes that it was not her intention to write a full history of the Queen's reign, but rather to give a portrait of her. That she does very well, indeed. She looks at Victoria as one wise and witty woman observing another woman, perhaps not as witty, but certainly as wise.

Doubtless there are books that give a more thorough explanation of the Victorian era, volumes that are more critical. One inevitably recalls Lytton Strachey and his keen, sensitive touch. Yet one suspects that his mind was too keen for his subject, like an overhoned knife that will not slice butter. For warmth of feeling, for liveliness, for the sheer delight of seeing a very human woman emerge from the concealment of royal dignity, one must go to Miss Sitwell. She is a distinguished poet and, save for a tendency toward unrestrained imagery, she writes exceedingly tolerable prose. No one can fail to enjoy her description of Victoria as a little, wilful child, determined and uncontrollable; then of her early development under the wise guidance of her governess; her girlish delight when she received the attentions of young and handsome princes; the unrestrained devotion for her husband, the Prince Consort; and, finally, the touching scene at the golden jubilee of her accession when all the empire paid tribute to her in the simple homage of children to their mother.

### A Statesman's Yarn

"The Man from the Norlands," by John Buchan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50).

THE author of this novel is the governor-general of Canada, and it is well to record that his life on the American continent has not diminished a whit his ability to tell an exciting yarn. There is nothing in it which the critics, with their quaint syntax, would call "deeply read." Yet if you are the sort of person who occasionally tires of the cauldron of serious literature, where

souls are brewing in an unseemly stew, you are bound to enjoy this book. It is the kind of thing to read of a listless afternoon when the ardor of your temperament falls in inverse proportion to the rise of the mercury.

The story revolves about Sir Richard Hannay, who figures in others of the author's novels. Like Falstaff, Sir Richard feels that he is growing old and fat. The spark of adventure which sent him, during

himself in this story, is essentially a lonely man, without friends, home, or peace of mind: without those things which for most men make life worth the sputtering of the candle. It is a rigorous training which the spy must undergo. He must take a thorough course in military geography, which means that he must know every detail of important cities, the railways and roads of a country, its rivers and harbors, its bridges and mountain passes. He must be an excellent rider, know how to pilot an airplane, and become adept in gymnastic tricks. He must learn, too, intricate codes and methods of deciphering messages. It is essential for him to have a fair acquaintance with at least four foreign languages. But even more important than these, he must grow subtle in his dealings with men, knowing when to speak and when to keep silent.

His life is thus rather devoid of romance, despite what fiction writers, in the comfort of their homes and the expansiveness of their imaginations, may say. One who has the stuff of romance in his veins has no place in the secret service. He has to be, for the success of his work, utterly without pity or sentiment.

"The Public Is Not Dumb," by Roger Burlingame. Today, July 25, 1936.

FOR many years, Mr. Burlingame notes, it had been the fashion in this country to sneer at, and damn, the public. Writers, editors, broadcasting companies all worked on the assumption that the American public was stupid, its mean level of intelligence low, that in its pursuit of art and entertainment it sought to be engulfed within a haze of sweetness and light.

All that is now changed. The American public has come of age. It has outgrown its intellectual knee-pants and curls. The American public, the author is convinced, is the most literate, conscious, receptive and, indeed, most reflective audience in the world. European observers who were among the first to insist upon the immaturity of the American mind, have been so concerned with their own affairs in recent years that they have not noticed the vast changes that have occurred in this country.

Magazines no longer feature stories whose sole emotional problem is whether the college football hero will make a touchdown in the last two minutes of play. The reading public is demanding stories with basic human problems, with revelations of character, with the stuff of soul-dripping sweat. It is the same, too, with the movies. Audiences are not now as responsive as they used to be to mere thrills or surprises. Neither do they have patience with stars whose only qualification for acting is a handsome face. If there need be any further proof of the development of the American public, it is reflected in the box-office successes of such productions as "David Copperfield," "Mutiny on the Bounty," and the "Informer."



QUEEN VICTORIA, THE PRINCE CONSORT, AND THEIR FAMILY

From a Painting by Winterhalter in Buckingham Palace.

—Illustration in "Victoria of England," by Edith Sitwell



SIGRID UNSET



JACKET ILLUSTRATION FROM "THE MAN FROM THE NORLANDS" BY JOHN BUCHAN

# Governor Landon Gives Views in Topeka Acceptance Address

(Concluded from page 1)

latter type of union in order to combat the unionization efforts of the A. F. of L. They contend that they are not interfering with the rights of workers to organize when they



"Out of this depression has come not only the problem of recovery but also the equally grave problem of caring for the unemployed until recovery is attained. Their relief at all times is a matter of plain duty. We of our party pledge that this obligation will never be neglected."

—Doyle in N. Y. Post

merely persuade them to join company unions. Most workers, it is argued, prefer to join a union composed solely of workers in their own plant rather than to belong to a national labor organization in which they can exert little influence. The A. F. of L. and other lesser labor associations, continue the argument, are out to get as many dues-paying members as possible. Officers of these organizations are chiefly concerned with increasing their power and, incidentally, their salaries. Why should they insist on the right to bring pressure to bear on workers to join their unions, while trying to deny employers an equally justifiable right of persuading their workers to belong to company unions—unions which charge their members little or nothing to belong?

So go the arguments of employers on the question of company unions. Labor leaders reply as follows: Company unions are usually financed by employers. That consideration alone seriously impairs their independence. Not only do employers urge their workers to join company unions but they keep employees in a constant state of fear that if they join an outside union they will lose their jobs. Company unions, for the most part, are completely under the thumb of employers. The only way that workers can deal with employers on an equal basis is to join powerful independent unions. Employers know this only too well and that is why they try to keep their workers shackled in company unions.

## Real Issue

Now that we have briefly outlined the broad issues involved in the present labor controversy, let us see what Governor Landon said regarding this matter in his acceptance speech and why labor leaders took issue with his position. The governor set forth his views as follows:

"The general well-being of our country requires that labor shall have the position and the rewards of prosperity to which it is entitled. I firmly believe that labor has the right to protect this position and to achieve those rewards by organizing into labor unions. Surely the history of labor in the United States has demonstrated that working conditions, wages, and hours have been improved through self-organization.

"The right of labor to organize means to me the right of employees to join any type of union they prefer, whether it covers their plant, their craft, or their industry. It means that, in the absence of a union contract, an employee has an equal right to join a union or to refuse to join a union.

"Under all circumstances, so states the

Republican platform, employees are to be free from interference from any source, which means, as I read it, entire freedom from coercion or intimidation by the employer, any fellow employee, or any other person."

Now on the surface it would not seem that these words would bring forth criticisms from labor leaders. But they did. It is the last paragraph which is under fire. John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers of America, and an increasingly powerful figure in American labor circles, hits at Mr. Landon's statement to the effect that workers shall be free from interference from fellow employees. If this rule were strictly carried out, according to Mr. Lewis, it would mean that outside labor organizers could not carry on campaigns in the effort to induce workers to join their unions. This, he holds, would be a vital blow at labor organization. It would so weaken the labor movement that employers would have nothing to fear. Mr. Landon, according to Lewis, has taken up the cause of business interests as opposed to workers. There is a vast difference, Mr. Lewis says, between pressure brought to bear on workers by labor unions and that brought to bear by employers. A labor organizer goes to a worker and urges him to join his union. If the worker refuses, the labor organizer cannot throw him out of his job. But unfortunately the employer can, and is doing it in thousands of cases. Moreover, Mr. Lewis continues, workers have nothing to do with employer associations and why should employers have anything to do with workers' organizations?

## Other Labor Critics

Many other labor leaders joined with Mr. Lewis in denouncing Mr. Landon's acceptance speech. They feel that if he should be elected, the bold steps which are now being taken by the Roosevelt administration to free workers from the domination of employers would be discarded. John T. Flynn, well-known columnist and labor sympathizer, supports this viewpoint. He has this to say:

"The eternal labor dispute has not reached a point which is easy to define. The principle of labor's right to organize is so universally accepted that organized business can no longer deny it. It has sought, therefore, to circumvent it. And its strategy has taken the form of company unions,

which are labor organizations sponsored by and managed under the auspices of the employers themselves."

The company union is, continues Mr. Flynn, "a form of coercion by the employer on the worker. The President has taken a stand against that coercion. Mr. Landon, however, takes the position of complete neutrality. He is against coercion 'by anyone.' But this refers to the efforts of workers to bring upon their fellows pressure to join their unions. Thus Mr. Landon's position is clear. It means plainly that in the warfare between worker and employer he will remain neutral."

## Landon Supporters

While Governor Landon's stand on labor organization is being attacked by working leaders and their sympathizers, it has been highly praised by business leaders and members of the Republican party. The New York *Herald-Tribune*, for instance, has this to say in defense of Mr. Landon:

"There are plenty of workers in this country who have always preferred the plant or company union to its craft or industrial rival. The steel employees are giving evidence of the fact in their resistance to the Lewis drive. No doubt this preference will find many more adherents as the industrial-craft union war waxes in bitterness and the labor movement divides into two armed camps, fighting not for wages but for dues. Who would lock the door against them? Certainly not a candidate who aspires to be President of the whole people as distinct from the followers of Mr. Lewis."

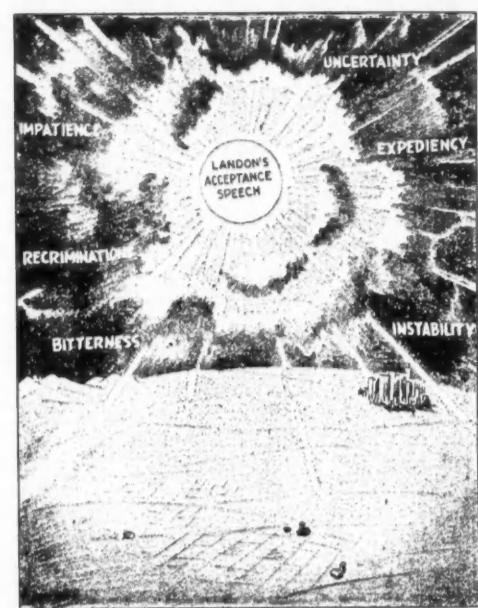
Another voice raised in favor of Mr. Landon's labor stand is that of Raymond Clapper, also a prominent newspaper columnist and booster of the Kansas governor. He puts up his case as follows:

"He [Governor Landon] did not, as is being said, align himself against organized labor. On the contrary he declared that labor has improved its lot by organizing and that it has the right to organize into unions of any type it desires. He ruled out coercion and intimidation from any source. That does not rule out persuasion either by employer or labor organizer.

"Unless we are to have a labor government, operating frankly in the special interest of one class, can any American citizen ask more of his government?"

## Political Strategy

We could continue quotations on this issue for many pages. It received widespread comment in the press. In nearly all cases, labor leaders opposed Mr. Landon's stand and business leaders praised it. Political strategists believe that Mr. Landon, feeling that organized workers were



—Elderman in Washington Post

fairly solidly behind President Roosevelt anyway, framed his labor policy to appeal to business interests and a large section of the middle classes. President Roosevelt, on the other hand, knowing that business interests are fairly unanimous in their opposition to him, is making his big appeal to organized workers and their sympathizers.

While predictions are dangerous, it would seem that if President Roosevelt is re-elected, his administration would continue to support unions such as those which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as opposed to company unions. If so, national unions would become an increasingly powerful force in American industry. Some observers believe that they might eventually provide the basis of a strong labor party in this country. If, on the other hand, Governor Landon should be elected, the government would not show any impartiality to national labor unions. Thus, it would be up to the labor leaders and business management to settle their differences with a minimum of government interference. Under such circumstances, the A. F. of L. and other national labor organizations would probably have tougher sledding than they would otherwise have.

The Landon speech as a whole added little to the Republican platform. The candidate elaborated certain of the platform declarations but introduced no issues or interpretations of his own with the exception of his explanation of the labor question. In thus failing to inject new issues into the campaign Governor Landon took an unusual course. It is customary for candidates, in their speeches of acceptance, to go beyond their platforms on certain points. Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* reviews recent political history for illustrations of that tradition. Charles Evans Hughes, in 1916, was more specific than his party platform in calling for an aggressive foreign policy. In 1920 the Democratic candidate, James M. Cox, came out squarely for the ratification of the League Covenant, declared for reduced governmental expenditures and the punishment of war profiteers, while Warren G. Harding, the Republican candidate, took a position for a revised League of Nations and promised a budget system. In 1924 John W. Davis was more pronounced than the Democratic platform in denouncing religious intolerance. In 1928 Alfred E. Smith came out definitely for the repeal of prohibition. In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt went beyond the platform in drawing the general outlines of the New Deal.

It appears that Governor Landon considers the time not ripe for ringing declarations. He won the presidential nomination by gaining a reputation for "common sense," while the details of his program were left somewhat vague. It may be that the preconvention tactics are to be continued, the Republican appeal resting upon the alleged failure of the Democratic administration and on the promise to deal with the problems of the next four years in a spirit of sane conservatism without a detailed outline of plans on specific issues.



© Wide World  
AS TOPEKA DONNED ITS BRIGHT COLORS FOR THE LANDON NOTIFICATION PARADE